west, klebi, the seat of customs and of good and beautiful things.

He then started off in the direction of the north, taking eight epochs to cross the spaces and the depths. He named the north baba, "great river," for the distance was great, the water deep, and the area difficult. In the north, which he reached in the ninth epoch, he established the seat of his control and that of all royalty.

He then went to the south where evil creatures who had listened to Mousso Koroni and followed her advice spoke a language they had stolen (1). The tried to resist Faro, but he destroyed great numbers

1. The Dogon have a similar notion of the theft of the language. See p. 47, n. 1.

of them. Although the survivors submitted to him, he made their domain the seat of impurity and named it /28/ bani, "little river," to emphasize their weakness and their shameful failure.

The itinerary was measured in palms, sibiri, the unit of measurement being 22 palms (2). The distance separating the cardinal points,

2. sibiri nye, literally "eye of the palm." The Bambara palm is a length obtained with an open hand, from the extremity of the thumb to the extremity of the middle finger.

the height of the sky and the depth of the earth were measured in the same way.

During the same period he determined the seasons and created the regular alternation of day and night to replace the premordial darkness. Having measured space, he created time.

Faro then placed himself in the center of the universe: still actuated by a vibratory movement, he traversed in a spiral turning from right to left up to the outer boundaries, "where there is no more than a trembling of the surface." Then he returned along the same route, going from left to right in order to "place himself at the central point (3) whence he distinguished between beings and things" (4).

3. It is said of this act, faro tyema yera; or faro sigi yoro seleke nani tyela. "Faro

774 is the object of constant concern during agrarian rituals. The role of the soul of plants is particularly noticeable in their medicinal uses. Drawing a remedy from a plant may cause its death, liberating its spiritual principles for the benefit of the sick man. Because of this, such an act is equated with a blood sacrifice.

With the exception of the ngovo tomato, plants have no dya. The shadow (suma) of a plant is not independent like that of a man or an animal. It exists only through light effects and its movements are caused by the air and the wind moving its leaves and branches. This is what the Bambara means when he says that the dya has a life of its own and depends on Faro, whereas the plant's suma depends on the spirit Tɛliko, master of the air.

774 An individual's dya can be known and his temperament and life possibilities assessed by measuring his shadow on the earth at noon. 787 The unit employed is the little finger, which is a corporeal symbol 804 of the person. If a pregnant woman is thus measured, the sex of the 843 child may be predicted.

774 When a boy or a girl gets married, it is said of them: a ye a dya furu: "he (or she) has married his dya." For it is impolite to say that [578] a person married anyone but his spiritual double. Besides, the union of the couple is repeated by the union of their dya which like themselves are of opposite sex. [595 In olden times, male twins married the same woman and the latter's dya was taken over by Faro in the Niger. 851] The child she conceived was the son of both husbands.

589 Some men do not marry. This is true of the Soma, the religious diviner attached to the major Bambara societies. Initiated in the 791 course of a solitary sojourn in the bush, he left his dya with the invisible spirits. This is a prerequisite to the gift of double sight with which he is endowed as well as a protection against possible dangers to the dya when it remains in contact with the earth, or when it approaches other humans. The true spouse of the Soma is his dya: he may mate only with it on a fixed date when the spirits return it to him for this purpose. /61/

The tere

774 The tere was inflicted by Pemba on Mousso Koroni in order to diminish her power at the time he was pursuing her. This explains its complexity: it is at once the character of a man, his strength,

364 the chief throws dust three times to the four cardinal points. The
778 masker then stands in the wind in such a way as to receive the smoke;
796 the chief and the members crouch in line behind him with their mouths open to inhale better. When the wind changes its direction they all move to continue this fumigation, wusuli, which constitutes a purification as well as an increment of forces. At the moment the fire is almost out, the most courageous of the participants stamps on it in order to assimilate better the nyama which it exudes. The ashes,
[804] gathered by the chief, are distributed, the unit of measurement being the gourd mure. An important share goes to the nyama boli, another is given as an offering to Faro, and a third is distributed among the members.

Several days later, the group goes to the river bank to the sound of drums beating out the murumuruw foli (literally, rhythm of the refuse); they throw the ashes reserved for Faro into the water and, continuing to dance, return to the village.

364 Those ashes given to the members are used to prepare the potass
778 which is mixed into the millet cake, the daily food of the Bambara,
252 and which will make the members of the family share in the powers contained in the nyamanto.

364 The eating of this mixture closes the cycle of the transfer of forces,
778 which were temporarily communicated to the refuse by the individuals, then recovered by Faro, and finally redistributed to the social body.

III. Rain Rites

789 At the time the first work is done in the fields, a drawing is made
241 with millet mash upon the tree of the Kworè in the shape of a lozenge inscribed within a rectangle, which represents "the great fire which issued /204/ from the cardinal angles" at the time of their creation. While this is being done, the following words are spoken: "The four elbows (the lozenge) are the fire of the angles; here is the anniversary of the Kworè." The clearing of the field or the first plowing always symbolizes the very first clearing obtained through fire.

789 During the month of May, the members of the Kworè society make
796 sacrifices upon their altars before the first rumbling of thunder in
794 order to purify the first sky where clouds are formed from the impure passage of Mousso Koroni. The chief gathers the members about the tree and recites the following prayer:

787 826 forehead, it is possible to predict to a great extent, what he will be or do in life. Later on /215/ the gait, the swinging of the arms, the way of placing the feet, of holding the head or the breasts will complete, for the informed people, the portrait sketched at birth.

Measurement of the dya

804 Certain indications concerning the individual are also given by the double or twin (dya) (1) which materializes in the shadow of the body

1. See p. 86.

and is measured by using the little finger as a unit. Starting from the top of the head, this operation is undertaken at noon in the sun when the shadow is shortest. The measurements which are noted down are grouped alternatively by three, the male number, and by four, the female number, according to the following table:

1. The first three unit measures (little finger) represent the nerves, pasa (masc.).
2. From the fourth to the seventh, the soft parts, the flesh, bu (fem.).
3. From the eighth to the tenth, the bones, kolo (masc.).
4. From the eleventh to the fourteenth, the body liquids, dyi (fem.).
5. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth, the male genitals, wulu (masc.).
6. From the eighteenth to the twenty-first, the female genitals, bye (fem.).
7. From the twenty-second to the twenty-fourth, the joints, kolonye, (masc.).
8. From the twenty-fifth to the twenty-eighth, the breasts, ši (fem.).
9. From the twenty-ninth to the thirty-first, the backbone, koloko (masc.).
10. From the thirty-second to the thirty-fifth, the womb, dẽzo (fem.).
11. From the thirty-sixth to the thirty-eighth, the intelligence, hakili (masc.).

781 826 12. From the thirty-ninth to the forty-second, pettiness, stupidity, misenya, (fem.).

826 13. From the forty-third to the forty-fifth, judgment, calmness, basigi (masc.).

14. From the forty-fifth to the forty-ninth, incoherence, agitation, hakiliwuli (fem.).

[804] These groupings are symbolized by little sticks whose length increases for male measures and decreases for female measures.

Example: if the measure of the individual stops at group 7, he will be represented by four sticks (males) of increasing size and by three others (females) of decreasing size and different aspects.

/216/ Whatever their number, these sticks are then placed in the following manner: those of the nerves in a dry receptacle, those of the flesh in millet flour, those of the bones on a hard stone, those of the liquids in water, those of the male genitals on the testicles of a male goat, those of the female genitals on the vulva of a mare, those of the breasts in karite oil, those of the womb in water from the Niger or a well, those of the intelligence in fresh milk, those of calmness and judgment in water. On the stick representing the joints is shown the name for lion; on that representing the backbone, the word dyose, (literally, point of support); on that representing pettiness, the name for dung beetle; on that representing disorder and agitation, the words muso dãga (literally, accursed woman).

A prayer is recited over the sticks which are then grouped and counted with their numbered representation and their symbolism according to the complicated calculations whose details we will not enter upon here (1). This prayer and counting are called: faro

1. It must, nevertheless, be noted that the total of the signs is (7 x 3) + (7 x 4) or 49.

kanubaya, "love of Faro." They indicate his solicitude for his subjects and were supposedly revealed to men by the swallow messenger at the time of the first girl twins' birth.

781 826 843 Each of these measurements corresponds to a certain moral and physical behavior of man, predetermined by Faro before one's birth. It is therefore possible, by measuring the dya of a pregnant woman,

173 All of these confusing events, however, did not fail to arouse resistance. The people of Doukounna and Banan-koroni, though unable to fight openly, nevertheless sought to avenge themselves upon Mamari. For this purpose they made common cause with the people of Doua. A man from Doukounna, along [804] with one from Doua who carried [41] 300 gros [gros = 1/8 oz.] of gold, went to Kong to seek an army to fight against Mamari. The people of Kong (1) agreed and provided a well-organized

1. Native traditions tend to center around great empires, capitals or paramount chiefs.

I have indicated that the origin of the Kouloubali, who founded the empire of Ségou, is connected with ancestors said by some traditionists to have come from Mandé and by others to be descended from a hunter from the east (see p. 30).

These two contrasting traditions reappear in connection with the siege of Ségou. The version given in this tale is also found in the Notice historique du Royaume et du Cercle de Ségou [Historical Note on the Kingdom and Circle of Ségou] and in Autour de Kita [Around Kita], p. 38. At this period Kong had an extensive sphere of influence, and M. Binger has shown how, by entirely commercial and peaceful means, it managed to acquire far-flung authority. Therefore, this version of a Kong army coming to attack Ségou and, on being defeated, retreating to the west and occupying Banan and then Mandé, seems suspect, because it is out of character with the practices of the Dioula [Diula] of Kong.

*173 the scene, he grossly insulted the ton-masa, calling him a coward and an incompetent, and had him given 40 lashes in front of the troops. Then Dé-koro took the village and killed the chief.

On his return, the ton-masa complained bitterly to Mamari of the shameful treatment accorded him and he made no secret of his hatred for Dé-koro. On the advice of a friend named Dyon-kolo, Mamari commiserated with the ton-masa and assured him that in the future no one [52] would fail to show him the respect due him. In token of his regard and esteem, he gave [804] him 150 coudees [a measure of ca. 50 centimeters] of silk to make a bila and a belt such as were worn by the sofa; the ton-masa alone had this regalia. Finally, in order to obviate any possible discord between the ton-masa and Dé-koro, Mamari acceded to the ton-masa's request to be placed in the service of son Bakari, who was pursuing his Islamic studies at Djenné.

Soon after this serious event, Mamari died (1).

1. His dominion extended on both banks of the Niger from Dina to Timbuktu.

"Around 1670, Er Rachid, the first filalien or hassanide sultan of Fez, in the course of an expedition into the Sous, besieged the mosque of a Moslem religious officiant named Ali ben Haidara, who fled to the Sudan and took refuge with the Banmana emperor Biton Kouloubali, whose authority was beginning to extend as far as Timbuktu. Ali offered Biton beautiful women captives of Spanish or Portuguese origin whom he had brought with him. The Banmana prince was so taken with this gift that he permitted Ali to settle at Timbuktu with his family and pupils and promised him protection. Indeed, when the sultan, Er Rachid, in hot pursuit of Ali, encountered the Ségou army between Timbuktu and Djenné in the northern part of Massina, he met with

438 643 [648] the gold. But they, in turn, could in no case resell the gold to anybody other than the Fama. Aside from certain sacrificial uses and the making of jewels for the Fama's wives, gold served to ransom captives or to negotiate royal alliances.

435 [284] The price of the commodities was set by agreement between buyer and seller, except for cloth which had a fixed price, 100 cowrie shells per cubit in the Bamako region. As a matter of fact, the cotton gathered in the fields of the community was woven by captives who were not paid.

426 686 Loans were made without interest. Interest, korko, is still forbidden today. Loans are guaranteed by labor. The debtor who could not repay his debt on time and whose family head refused to pay it for him was seized by the Fama and held as security until such time as he had reimbursed his debt.

804 [436] Side by side with French units of measurement, the natives use their own for trade. Their measures of length: the cubit (elbow to tip of middle finger), the span, the foot, the length of both arms extended, the pace, the diare, and the kala . . . ; their measures of capacity: the sawel or mouré, the mud; their weights: the moutkhal, the catal, the large and little karoni, the wakie, the pellet of tali, of tomi, of bagana, of gelen. Cotton is weighed on rough scales whose pointer is a wooden rod and the balances large gourds hung by strings. For weights, large rocks, kulu, from 800 to 1,200 grams are used. Finally, the Bambara use French money almost exclusively: one franc of metropolitan France is equivalent to 0.50 francs C.F.A. Nevertheless, the use of cowrie shells is still frequent.

d. Banks

453 One bank of issue exists in French West Africa: the Bank of French West Africa. There are also private banks, the number of which has increased during the past few years.

The Bank of French West Africa, which has a branch at Bamako, carries out the following operations: [43]

1. discounts notes or bills of two or several signatures due in not more than 180 days;

2. creates, negotiates, or buys drafts;

688 Tjoïna, or Kégné, and the Nama of Misango, Kokodjan, or Guendo. The Djara of Tjikoumela is very popular in Bani country. A perjured Negro offers a gnénama fani, and the fani-n-kolo is costly. For the Komo it consists of two red roosters, two goats, a dog, two red kola nuts, a basket of millet (between 18 and 20 kilograms) and three times 8 kémé (the kémé is worth 80 cowrie shells) if the culprit is a man, or four times 8 kémé if it is a woman. For the Nama the price includes a gourd of honey, two gourds of karité butter, a red hen, two red kola nuts, a basket of millet, and 8 ba (the ba is worth 800 cowrie shells, or one franc), a kémé, and a débé (120 cowrie shells). In addition these are one to two kilograms of salt and a gourd of gnama-n-kou (malagueta pepper: amomum melegueta) for the sacrificer. For the Nia the cost is 12 ba, four chickens, two dogs, and two hens.

[804 436]

[804 436]

684 837 Adultery is frequent; it occurs daily and is the source of most of the disputes that arise. Some husbands are tolerant, however, and many are satisfied with 2 to 3 ba (between 1, 600 and 2, 400 cowrie shells, or 2 to 3 francs) and victims for a sacrifice to the family boli, such as a hen, a dog, a kid, or two kola nuts.

684 836 Like adultery, fornication is a serious offence because it violates the rights of third parties. It is less serious /163/ than adultery.